

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 ATHENS 00721 240452Z

15
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 IO-11 /082 W

----- 011475

R 231750Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2317
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMCONULTHESSALONIKI

C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 0721

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, GR
SUBJECT: CENTER UNION/NEW FORCES SEEKING TO BECOME A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC
C
PARTY

"THERE SEEMS TO ME AT PRESENT TO BE GREAT
OCCASION FOR RAISING A UNITED PARTY OF VIRTUE."
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

"SOCIALISM HERE HAS TO BE GREEK DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALISM."
GEORGE MAVROS

1. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IN TODAY'S GREECE
"SOCIALISM" IS THE "PARTY OF VIRTUE." EVEN SO STAUNCH A
CONSERVATIVE AS CONSTANTINE CARAMANLIS COULD TELL A FRENCH
INTERVIEWER LAST JUNE "IN MY HEART I AM A SOCIALIST,"
WHILE AT THE LEFT END OF THE NON-COMMUNIST SPECTRUM
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 00721 240452Z

PASOK'S ANDREAS PAPANDREOU IS PEDDLING HIS OWN BRAND
OF SOCIALISM.

2. THE LEADER OF THE CENTER UNION/NEW FORCES PARTY (CU/NF), GEORGE MAVROS, HAS FOR MONTHS NOW BEEN SEEKING TO HAVE HIS PARTY DECLARE ITSELF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC. PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION HAS BEEN HALTING AND SLOW, BUT THE PARTY SEEMS FINALLY TO BE CREEPING UP ON THE MOMENT WHEN IT WILL OFFICIALLY DECLARE ITSELF TO BE A "SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC" ORGANIZATION. THE DAWN IS PROBABLY GOING TO BE USHERED IN AT THE END OF THIS MONTH AFTER THE CU/NF PARLIAMENTARY GROUP (ITS 61 DEPUTIES) FORMALLY CONSIDERS THE PARTY'S DRAFT CHARTER CONSISTING OF A SET OF IDEOLOGICAL PRECEPTS IDENTIFYING THE CU/NF AS A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND A NEW ORGANIZATIONAL THEME FOR THE PARTY. (THE CHARTER WILL REMAIN PROVISIONALLY IN EFFECT UNTIL THE PARTY CONGRESS MEETS LATER IN THE YEAR TO GIVE ITS FINAL APPROVAL.)

3. AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED FROM A PARTY WHICH IS CONSCIOUSLY PURSUING A CENTRIST POSITION, THE DRAFT PARTY PROGRAM IS A COMBINATION OF MOTHERHOOD AND MODERATION COUCHED IN A CLOUD OF CLICHE AND VAGUENESS. THE PARTY PLEDGES ITSELF, OF COURSE, TO DO MORE AND BETTER ON SUCH MAINSTAYS OF GREEK POLITICS-- EDUCATION, HEALTH AND RETIREMENT.

4. THE DRAFT DECLARATION'S APPROACH TO ECONOMICS IS A NOT TOO ARTFUL ATTEMPT TO RECONCILE THE VIEWS OF THE PARTY'S FREE MARKETERS WITH THOSE OF ITS NATIONALIZERS, BUT THE FORMER WOULD SEEM TO HAVE CARRIED THE DAY. THE STATEMENT DECLARES THAT "MAXIMUM POSSIBLE EFFICIENCY" WILL HAVE SPECIAL IMPORTANCE IN THE APPLICATION OF THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM-- THAT, AS WE HAVE OFTEN BEEN TOLD BY CU/NF LEADERS, THERE IS TO BE NO NATIONALIZATION FOR NATIONALIZATION'S SAKE. WITHIN SUCH CRITERIA, THE PARTY PLEDGES ITSELF TO NATIONALIZE "KEY SECTORS" OF THE ECONOMY, "NATURAL RESOURCES" AND "MONOPOLIES." LARGE SCALE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC CAPITAL WILL, IT IS STATED, HAVE TO SERVE THE NATIONAL INTEREST. THE DECLARATION ALSO MENTIONS POPULAR "PARTICIPATION" AS AN OBJECTIVE OF THE PARTY BUT WISELY DOES NOT SEEK TO VENTURE INTO THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC THICKETS TO DEFINE PRECISELY WHAT "PARTICIPATION" WILL
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ATHENS 00721 240452Z

MEAN.

5. THE PROGRAM'S FOREIGN POLICY PLANK IS MUSHY AND VAGUE, BUT DOES ACCURATELY REFLECT THE CURRENT NATIONALIST SENTIMENTS OF GREECE--"INDEPENDENCE" IS ONE OF THE STATEMENT'S MOST OVER-USED WORDS. THE CU/NF "REFUSES THE PRESENCE OF NON-NATIONAL MILITARY BASES ON GREEK SOIL. IT REJECTS ANY KIND OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION OR ALLIANCE WHICH DOES NOT SERVE NATIONAL INTERESTS." WHILE ON THE SURFACE THESE MIGHT SEEM FIRM WORDS, THEY IN FACT WOULD ALLOW A

CU/NF GOVERNMENT SUFFICIENT ROOM TO MANEUVER TO CONTINUE SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP BOTH WITH THE U.S. AND WITH NATO.

6. THE DECLARATION ALSO PLEDGES THE PARTY TO CLOSE COOPERATION WITH ALL SOCIALIST PARTIES AND PARTICULARLY THOSE OF EUROPE. IN FACT, MUCH OF THE INSPIRATION FOR THE CU/NF'S MOVE TOWARDS SOCIAL DEMOCRACY DERIVES FROM ITS DESIRE TO COZY UP TO EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS, ESPECIALLY THE GERMAN SPD, ON WHICH IT IS RATHER CONSCIOUSLY SEEKING TO PATTERN ITSELF AND FROM WHICH IT UNDOUBTEDLY HOPES TO OBTAIN MATERIAL ASSISTANCE.

7. GEORGE MAVROS, THE CU/NF'S GOOD-HEARTED BUT LACKLUSTER LEADER, AND MANY OF HIS YOUNGER COHORTS ARE TRYING TO RESHAPE A RATHER TIRED PARTY INTO A DYNAMIC, MODERN, MASS-BASED ORGANIZATION THAT CAN IDENTIFY AND ATTRACT A DYNAMIC AND GROWING CONSTITUENCY. IT WILL BE AN UPHILL FIGHT.

8. MOST OF THE ENERGY FOR THIS TRANSFORMATION IS SUPPLIED BY THE UPPER MIDDLE CLASS NEW FORCES ELEMENT OF THE PARTY WHOSE "ZEAL POTS BOIL OVER." BUT THE CENTRAL INGREDIENT IN SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES ELSEWHERE, A LARGE LABOR ORGANIZATION, IS MISSING. AND THE PARTY'S STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES HAS LITTLE TO SAY ABOUT TRADE UNIONISM.

9. ALSO MISSING IS A STRONG AND ATTRACTIVE LEADER, WHICH IN GREECE IS AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY FOR POLITICAL SUCCESS. MAVROS, THE UNASSUMING COMPROMISER, HAS THUS FAR BEEN ABLE WITH SOME DIFFICULTY TO KEEP THE PARTY'S CONSERVATIVES--AND THEIR NUMBERS ARE LEGION--IN HARNESS
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ATHENS 00721 240452Z

WITH ITS LIBERAL ELEMENTS. THIS IS NO MEAN ACHIEVEMENT, AND ONE THAT IS ALWAYS IN DANGER OF FAILING.

10. AT PRESENT, THE BETTING IS THAT THE CU/NF WILL EMERGE FROM NEXT WEEK'S MEETINGS AS A "UNITED PARTY OF VIRTUE." BUT OTHER ISSUES LIE AHEAD WHICH COULD FRACTURE THIS UNITY. SOME CONSERVATIVES, FOR EXAMPLE, SEEM TO BE READY TO FIGHT OVER THE PARTY'S NAME--REJECTING ANY ATTEMPT TO CHANGE IT TO SOMETHING LIKE "THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY" OF GREECE. BUT MORE IMPORTANT, PERHAPS IS THE QUESTION OF COOPERATION OR ALLIANCES WITH OTHER PARTIES OF THE LEFT. SOME MEMBERS OF THE NEW FORCES HAVE BEEN PRESSING FOR A "DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE" WHICH WOULD JOIN THE CU/NF TO ILIAS ILIOU'S EDA AND THE DISSIDENT COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE INTERIOR, BOTH EDA AND KKE (INTERIOR) HAVE ENCOURAGED THIS IDEA. HOWEVER, OLD LINE CENTER UNIONISTS, AND EVEN SOME OF THE YOUNGER PARTY MEMBERS, ARE NOT READY FOR SUCH A MOVE--AND MAY NEVER BE. THIS ISSUE

WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY TEST THE PARTY'S UNITY IN THE MONTHS
AHEAD.
KUBISCH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SOCIALISM, POLITICAL PARTIES, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ATHENS00721
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760028-0003
From: ATHENS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760130/aaaaazkz.tel
Line Count: 172
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 APR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <05 AUG 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CENTER UNION/NEW FORCES SEEKING TO BECOME A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC
TAGS: PINT, GR, CENTER UNION, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, (MAVROS, GEORGE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006